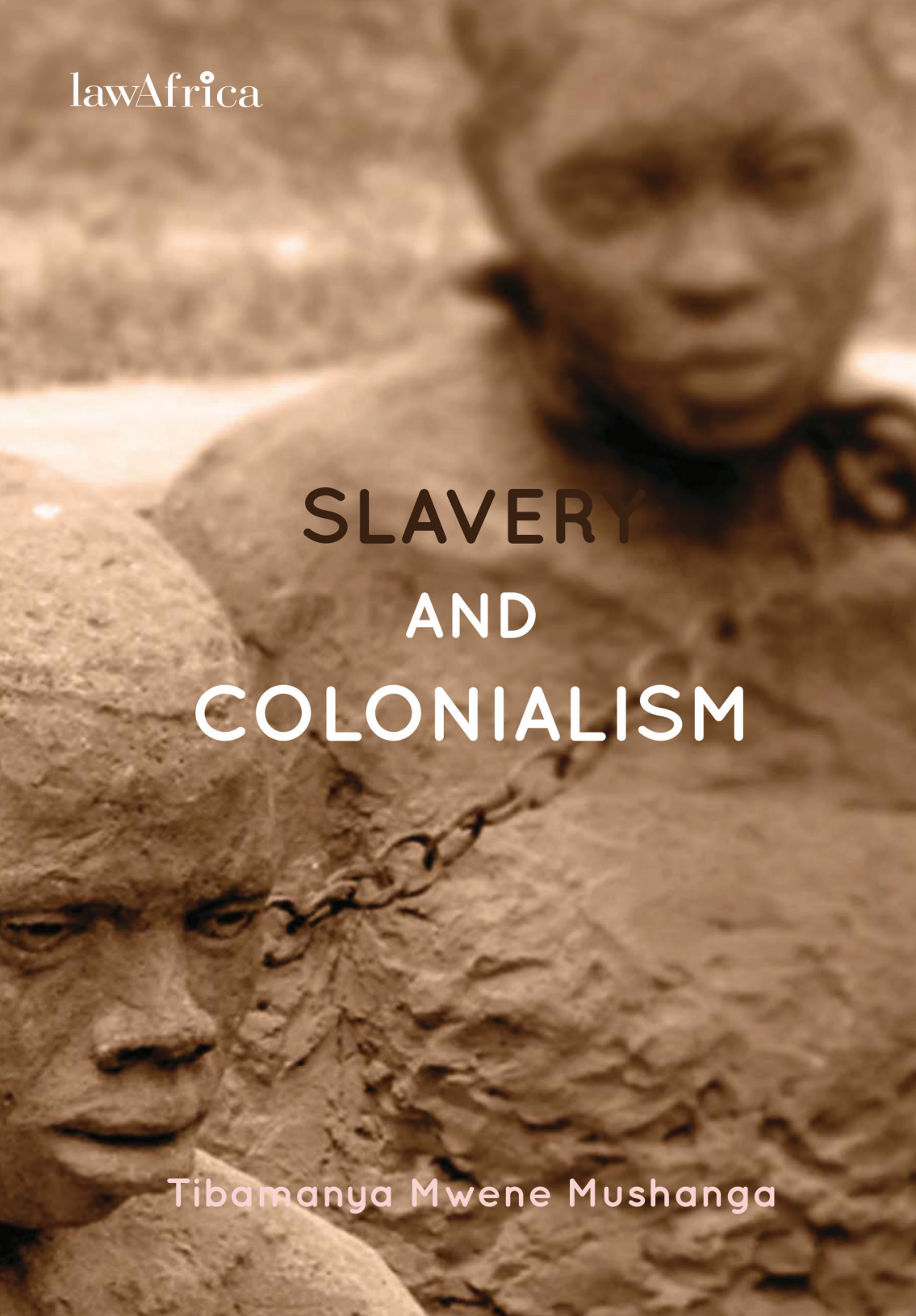


The background of the cover is a sepia-toned photograph of two African individuals, likely from the 19th century, shown from the chest up. They are wearing heavy metal chains around their necks and wrists. The person in the foreground is looking down and to the left, while the person in the background is looking directly at the camera. The overall mood is somber and historical.

lawAfrica

SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM

Tibamanya Mwene Mushanga

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM

SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM

Man's inhumanity to man for which Africans
must Demand Reparations

Mwene Mushanga

lawAfrica

Published by

LawAfrica Publishing (U) Ltd
Office Suite No. 2
Plot 10A, Jinja Road (Opposite NEMA House)
P.O. Box 6198
Kampala, Uganda
Phone: +256 41 255808
Fax: +256 41 347743

LawAfrica Publishing (K) Ltd
Top Plaza, 3rd Floor
Kindaruma Road (Off Ngong Road)
P.O. Box 4260 - 00100 GPO
Nairobi, Kenya
Wireless: +254 20 2495067
Cell: +254 708 898 189
Fax: +254 20 2495067

LawAfrica Publishing (T) Ltd
Co-Architecture Building, 7th Floor
India/Makunganya Street
P.O. Box 38564
Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania
Phone: +255 22 2120804/5
Fax: +255 22 2120811
Email: sales@lawafrica.com
Website: www.lawafrica.com

© Tibamanya Mwene Mushanga 2011; LawAfrica

ISBN 9966-031-09-9

lawAfrica

Copyright subsists in this work. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or means, or stored in a retrieval system of any nature without the prior publisher's written permission. Any unauthorized reproduction of this work will constitute a copyright infringement and render the doer liable under both criminal and civil law.

Application for permission for use of copyright material including permission to reproduce extracts in other published works shall be made to the publishers. Full acknowledgement of the author, publisher and source must be given.

Whilst every effort has been made to ensure that the information published in this work is accurate, the author, the editors, publishers and printers take no responsibility for any loss or damage suffered by any person as a result of reliance upon the information contained herein.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Preface	vii
Dedication.....	ix
Slavery and colonial exploitation of Africa.....	1
The case for reparation	13
Slavery today	17
Slavery control.....	19
Conclusion	21
Bibliography	23

Other books by the Author

1. *Folk Tales from Ankole (in English and Runyankore)*
2. *Criminal Homicide in Uganda*
3. *Crime and Deviance: An Introduction to Criminology*
4. *Criminology in Africa (edited) 1992, (UN Publication No.39) Rome.*
5. *Standard English/Runyankore-Rukiga Dictionary 2004*
6. *Dictionary of Criminology.*
7. *Homicide and Its Social Causes, 2008*
8. *Remembering from Generation to Generation*

PREFACE

Slavery as a universal social institution was transformed into a lucrative international trade in 1441 when 12 Africans were captured in a raid on the Atlantic Coast of Africa. The captives were taken to Prince Henry the Navigator as a gift.

Prince Henry is reported to have been very pleased with his gift that he appealed to the Pope seeking permission to make more raids in order to acquire more slaves.

The Pope was quick to oblige and wrote back granting, “to all those who shall be engaged in the said war complete forgiveness of all their sins.”

Later, in 1455 a papal bull authorized Portugal to reduce to servitude all heathen peoples. (Meltzer 1993, p.1).

From this time, slavery became the most important trade for the major nations of Europe; and in less than one hundred years, slave trading nations were experiencing unprecedented economic growth, with rapid urbanization, and industrialization.

It is for this economic boom that followed importation of black slaves into America that Rogers referred to slavery as “Africa’s Gift to America.” At the time President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Declaration on 1 January 1863 setting free “all slaves in areas still in rebellion,” the United States of America was enjoying the benefits of the slave trade.

Officially, the slave trade was legally ended in the United States of America, but in some parts of Europe and Middle East, it lingered on for a long time after, and it still exists up to the present-day in some of the Arab dominated parts of North Africa, notably in Niger, Sudan and Mauritania.

The colonized natives grew the crops the colonialists needed, they mined minerals the colonialists needed for their expanding industries, they rendered services that the colonial masters wanted, and in some parts of Africa, notably in South Africa, Zambia,

Zimbabwe, Namibia and Kenya, Europeans acquired large pieces of land where they settled in absolute comfort.

What bothers me most is that nearly sixty years after independence, African slavery and colonialism of the African people, has not been taken seriously or even considered, by writing about this evilish act. We talk about inferiority complex among the African people, we speak about some ridiculous belief systems and backwardness and seem very reluctant to trace how these traits could be related to colonial and slavery experience. This may also explain why African leaders have been reluctant or unwilling to demand reparation for the two evils that were imposed on the African people.

African historians have been busy trying to document the histories of their tribal people and have not investigated the role of slavery and colonialism in the shaping of the African personality; or how the two evils have in some one way or other contributed to the slow economic growth of Africa.

There has been an argument regarding who are to be the recipients of the reparations. The reparations could be shared by all countries from which slaves were taken and by the countries that were colonized.

African slaves helped to develop America, Arabia, and Europe, so these nations must be required to contribute to the development of the African people.

Mwene Mushanga
Kagango Shema.

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to:

The late Abraham Lincoln, the 16th USA President for signing
Emancipation Declaration, 1 January 1863 setting slaves free.

The late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. for his epoch-making speech
of “I have a Dream” at Washington DC on 28 August 1963.

The late Mr. Jomo Kenyatta who after seven years in prison came
out to be the first President of Kenya in 1963.

Mr. Nelson Mandela for being elected, April 1994, first African
President of South Africa after 300 years of Boer rule under
apartheid.

Mr. Barack Obama the 44th President of USA, whose election was
of a tsunamic magnitude assumed office on the 20 January 2009.
He is the first African-American President of USA.

SLAVERY AND COLONIAL EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA; A CASE FOR REPARATION

SLAVERY

“If slavery is not wrong nothing is wrong.”

Abraham Lincoln, 1864.

“From the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule.”

Aristotle (Suzanne Everett, History of Slavery, Bison Group Ltd, 1978, London.)

“Slavery was Africa’s gift to America.”

J.A. Rogers.

“Slavery is the mother of all evils in human history.”

Mwene Mushanga

“The requirements of Justice are such that wherever a wrong has been committed, wherever evil has been done, it must be acknowledged and, as far as possible, reparation made.”

Pope John II (in a speech to Prof. Mushanga, Vatican 28 May, 1998)

Slavery, the anti-thesis of freedom, is a social institution in which a person is involuntarily subjected to and wholly owned and controlled for the benefit of another. Today slavery in general refers to a wide range of violations of human rights. In 1991, the centre for Human Rights of the United Nations stated that:

In addition to traditional slavery and slave trade, these abuses include the sale of children, child prostitution, child pornography, the exploitation of child labour, the sexual mutilation of female children, the use of children in and around conflict, debt bondage, the traffic in persons and in the sale of human organs, the exploitation of prostitution, and certain practices under apartheid and colonial regimes. (Meltzer op.cit p.280)

Slavery is an ancient institution; what is of recent origin is the making of it a lucrative business, a trade as it came to be known. Slavery appears in ancient literature, including the biblical texts. It was commonly practiced in Greek and Roman times. Aristotle and Montesquieu later thought that, "For certain races of mankind subjection or slavery may be justified." J.S Mill later expressed similar views saying that, "For people at a certain stage of development subjection may be necessary for a time in preparation for citizenship." In fact for Aristotle, a family was incomplete if there were no slaves. He wrote, "A complete household consists of slaves and freemen. The elements of a family are master and slave, husband and wife, father and children." (Alder, 1990, vol.2, p.612-3.) Slaves were kept for domestic work in cities in Mesopotamia and in ancient Egypt. Slaves also were sent to work in fields and also in mines. The common feature of slavery was that slaves were normally recruited from the "other" group. Usually they were differentiated on the criteria of race, colour, language, religion and other socially recognised identities. It was rare for people to enslave members of their own group. The preference was for the 'other' from as far distances as possible. The more distant the place of origin the more mistreatment and cruelty the slave received from the master. Very often the people sold into slavery were either captives taken in inter-tribal wars, others were delinquents who had committed some crime for which the death penalty would have been imposed and others were social misfits whose relatives sought to get rid of. In common practice, only physically fit people were taken into slavery because they were needed for manual labour. While slavery is an ancient practice, the slavery for which Africans were subjected to and for which reparation is being demanded is of relatively recent origin in recent historical perspectives. The available evidence suggests that Africans were first sold in a public market place in 1441 in Lagos, a town in southern Portugal. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to come in to contact with Africans and soon established colonies in what is Angola and Mozambique and remained in these areas till their forceful expulsion in 1975, having terrorized the African people for a period of over five hundred years. The Portuguese did not enjoy their slave trade for long, for sooner they were joined by the other fortune seekers, notably the Spaniards, the English, the

Dutch and later the Arabs, the Americans; even the Indians were mentioned in history texts to have been involved in the trade of human beings.

The Portuguese depended so much on slave trade that when France and Holland agreed to abolish it, the Portuguese refused until they were paid GBP. 750,000 on the understanding that they would confine trafficking in African slaves from the south of the equator and the Portuguese colonies. Dependence on slave trade and from the labour of the colonized people can be seen in the fact that since Angola and Mozambique became independent in 1975, the GNP of Portugal plummeted and has continually remained the lowest in Western Europe. Spain, as noted earlier, was a major participant in the trade following the establishment of colonies in the West Indies in 1517. With the settlement on the mainland and the plantations, Africans were sought the more to work on plantations as slaves. Spain like Portugal was paid GBP. 400,000 in order to reduce its volume of slaves in 1817 before the trade was finally abolished. The two countries were paid for the loss of their lucrative trade but are not willing to pay Africa for the loss of its people.

The British appear in history of slave trade not only as traders but also as some of the first to organise an anti-slavery movement for humanitarian reasons. Some of the motives for the British engagement in the anti-slavery movement were to protect their British Indies from competition of slave-produced Cuban and Brazilian sugar and the desire to promote oil and cocoa trade. It is for this reason that other European traders considered the British hypocritical for agitating for the abolition after having earlier enriched themselves from the trade. The Arabs, their vehement claims of innocence notwithstanding, also participated in the trade as mentioned above. In fact, there is evidence to show that the Arabs may have started the trade several years before the Europeans. The Koran acknowledges slavery as an established fact but prohibits the enslavement of fellow Muslim, which is an offence against God, and only non-Muslim could be enslaved.

In 1978, a UNESCO report stated that a precise figure on the drain represented by this traffic was not easy but an average

of 20,000 a year was the probable figure for the centuries during which the Muslims slave trade was at its highest. It was also estimated that 100,000 slaves were taken to the Muslim world in the seventh century, 200,000 in the eighth century, and 400,000 in the ninth, 500,000 in the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. One million in the fourteenth. Two million in each century from the fifteenth to the nineteenth inclusive, and 300,000 in the twentieth, making a total of 14 million altogether. (UNESCO 1979-*The African slave trade from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century*) Africans, wherever they were enslaved were treated badly. Accounts by H.B. Stowe in *Uncle Toms Cabin*, J.A. Rogers in *Africa's Gift to America* and Henry Louis Gates, Jr's *The Classic Slave Narratives* and others are clear evidence to the suffering the slaves endured.

Men, women and young children were forced to work from sunrise to sunset. Mounted sentinels, armed with rifles watched over the toiling slaves till darkness made it impossible for them to do work in the fields. Many died from sheer exhaustion, hunger or ill-treatment. The future of slaves worsened if they tried to escape as happened one day on 30 August 1800. Following an abortive attempt to escape, 35 slaves were hanged for organising the uprising. The leader, one by the name Gabriel was hanged. This was not an isolated incident; on one occasion 1831 one hundred slaves were hanged. Slaves who were sold to the Arabs did not fare any better. For a slight mistake a slave in Morocco could be put to death. At Messfoua, a vast establishment had been set up for the purpose of castrating slaves. Eight out of ten slaves so operated died from bleeding and sepsis. In upper Egypt as many as 2,000 slaves were castrated annually. This operation explains why there are no African-Arab people in Muslim countries as there are African people in America. The male slaves were eunuchs. The demand for African-American people for reparation is for the purpose of atonement for the most protracted systematic, heinous, inhuman, and barbaric treatment from their enslavers in America, Europe and Arabia.

The following are the cases demonstrating the injustices, brutality, cruelty and inhumanity slavery imposed on African people. On hearing he had been sold by his master whom he had trusted for a long time, Uncle Tom "...leaned over the back of the chair, covered his face with

his large hands, sobs, heavy and loud, shook the chair, and great tears fell through his fingers on the floor, just such tears, sir, as you dropped into the coffin where lay your first born son; such tears, woman, as you shed when you heard the cries of your dying baby. For, sir, he was a man and you are but another man. And, woman, though dressed in silk and jewels, you are but a woman, and in life's great straights and mighty griefs, you feel but one sorrow." (Stowe, 1965:P.41)

The second case is that of Tom Price, "Tom Price was a Negro, married and a father to two children. While he was a porter in a town hotel his wife did washing for a number of white families. Price had little education and was in no way extraordinary, except that he was rather consistent in attention to his job rather than was usually the case. His wife, a rather attractive negress, in August of that year was fired by one of her male employers because she insisted on remaining faithful to her legal spouse. Price, in a moment of angry bravado, threatened the white man. On the second night after the occurrence, Price was awakened and dragged from his bed by three hooded figures. Before the small house, which was on the outskirts of the town, waited a group of 15 or 20 more, all similarly attired, and each provided with a horse. The Negro was tied to the end of a rope and then dragged behind the cavalcade to the centre of the town. Here, he was wired to an upright post of faggots soaked in kerosene and were piled about his legs. To the crowd that was gathering the leader of the hooded band declared that Price was to be "executed for attacking a girl." The mob growled approval and shouted advice to the captors. The first step in the execution was whipping, which raised crimson-gorged weals on the Negro's naked body. Then, a match was set to the straw and sticks—but not to many of these—the flame was not intended to kill, as the flames reached his flesh the Negro writhed and screeched in agony, but only now did the real torture commence. So tightly was Price wired to the post that his tense body could not shrink when one of the white men advanced with a brace and bit into the muscles of the groin cut the biting tool. Time after time he fainted to be revived again the torture was stayed. From the crowd came again and again the animal fowl-lustful and cruel. The game was nearly over. A slash of knives and another form of medieval torture had been revived. The fire was now kicked out and the unconscious, but still living Negro was dragged to a tree at

the side of the square. As his limbs jerked and danced at the end of the rope, his body was riddled with bullets. He found peace at last'. (Barnes, 1930:233-234; also cited in Mushanga, 1988:166)

Slavery, as the final hours in the life of Tom Price attest, is definitely one of the most barbaric social institution that has existed in human history. In this paper I reflect on the enslavement of Africans. As well, I argue that there is a case for reparation.

The number of Africans captured and transported across the Atlantic to America and to Europe, across the Indian Ocean to the Middle East and Asia, across the Sahara Desert into Arabia for enslavement, and how many died during the process and practice that lasted several centuries, will never be known. The conservative estimates of survivors from the arduous journeys suggest that between 1440 and 1860 at least 50 million Africans were transported and traded as slaves. (Rogers, 1961:62)

During a UNESCO conference held at Port-au-Prince in Haiti in 1978, for some participants who wished to take into consideration factors such as losses during the capture and land journey across Africa, and deaths during the sea crossing, Africa's losses during the four centuries of the Atlantic slave trade must be at some 210 million human beings (UNESCO, 1979:211). While the volume of international trafficking of Africans for sale and enslavement will never be known with minute accuracy, a movement demanding reparation for the heinous act of trading in and enslaving Africans has emerged and taken root. In fact, the demand is not an isolated one in history. The Aboriginal people in Canada and Australia are demanding reparation for the loss of their sovereignty. Japanese-Americans have demanded reparation for the wrongful internment during the Second World War. Japan has apologised for subjecting other people to inhuman treatment, notwithstanding war situations. Kenyans also have come aboard to ask the British government to pay. This case shows, therefore, that there is a wide-spread quest for reparation for colonialism and economic exploitation of African people.

In June 2009, five Kenyans, three men and two women, after waiting in vain for over 40 years for their government or political

organisation to raise this matter with the British Government, took it upon themselves to take the British Government to court in London. The five were demanding compensation for the gross abuse of their human rights claiming that their people were killed, beaten, jailed, harassed, humiliated; that some women had bottles full of hot water inserted into their private parts, that some people had their ancestral land taken away from them, and said they were prepared to take their case as far as the House of Lords, which is the highest court of the British Government.

Why African leaders have shied away, from demanding reparation indicates the level of African leaders dependence on the former masters of their respective countries. There is in other words, not only a case, but also recent precedents for Africans and those in the Diaspora to demand and receive reparation for subjection to enslavement. In fact, Africa should not confine the demand for reparation to slave trade. Equally appropriate is to include in the demand, the structural-based enslavement deeply embedded in colonialism and imperialism. On acquiring territories in Africa, Europeans and their agents introduced elaborate institutional structures and mechanisms through which they subjected Africans to brutality with lasting effects. To date, Africans live in misery, they have bitter memories of their past; they are looked down upon and treated by others as inferior, and they seem to have internalised an inferiority complex. Enslavement took various forms and is still perpetuated, including through scholarship, as the current debate on the *Bell curve* attests.

Although articulated centuries after slave trade was abolished, the demand for reparation is not taken seriously internationally. Already, "The First Pan-African Conference on Reparation" was held in Abuja, Nigeria, 27-29 April 1993. The conference was attended by delegations from 34 African, European, Caribbean and Latin and North American countries, and others from public inter-governmental bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity and the Economic Community of West African States, and from educational, training and research institutions. For concerted and concreted action, an international committee for reparations, a group of eminent persons, among them Mr. Basharoun Abiola, former

Secretary General of UNESCO, Dr. Amadou M'Bow, Professors Ali Mazrui, Ade Ajayi, and Miriam Makeba, has been set up (Ajayi and Vogt, 1993)

Predictably, the demand for reparation has generated debate. According to a Canadian daily, one historian dismisses the demand as racism based on faulty historical scholarship. Phil Curtin of John Hopkins University, also a professor of history, questions the credibility of the number of Africans who died during the slave trade (*The Ottawa Citizen*, 31 August 1993). During a round table session on "The Reparations of African Enslavement; myth or reality?" At the 37th annual meeting of the African Studies Association (USA), Toronto, 3-6 November 1994, one attendant put it to the panel that Africans were involved in slavery before the Arabs and Europeans started hunting them down and exporting them for sale. Another one argued that the enslavement of Africans followed an act of war; implying that it was the fault of the Africans to be hunted down, to be defeated, to be captured and enslaved, forgetting to add, as promptly reminded, that those wars were never provoked in any way and were thus not "just wars" (although those who started the wars justified them in terms of broader objectives of civilization!) I will return to, and counter those discourses; for now, I want to argue and persuade, that no matter how one looks at slavery and whatever justifications enslavers put forward, slavery is wrong and therefore there is a case for demanding and receiving reparation from the perpetrators and beneficiaries.

In a very surprising development, the law-makers of American Parliament offered the Federal Government's first formal apology for the fundamental injustices, cruelty, brutality and inhumanity of slavery and the legal segregation of African-Americans (*The New Vision* 31 August 2008).

In an epoch making decision, the Italian government agreed to pay 200 million dollars annually for 25 years to Libya as reparation for colonial exploitation for 30 years (*The New Vision* 31 August, 2008). We are waiting to hear similar decisions being made by England, France, Belgium, Portugal and Spain.

“The requirements of justice are such that whenever a wrong has been committed, whenever evil has been done, it must be acknowledged and, as far as possible, reparation be made.”

One salient feature of slave trade is that slaves were normally recruited from the “other” group, differentiated on the criteria such as race, colour, language, religion or other collective attributes and identities. In other words, it was rare that people enslaved their own members; and the more distant the ‘other’ was, the more the mistreatment and brutality the enslaved got from the master. While slavery is ancient, the historically-specific slavery for which Africans demanding reparation is, relatively, very recent. The available evidence suggests that Africans were first sold publicly in a market in 1441 in Lagos in southern Portugal (Rodgers, 1961:62). In fact, the Portuguese, the first Europeans to interact intensely and continuously with Africans, dominated slave trade. The main source of Africans the Portuguese sold were from Angola and Mozambique, both Portuguese colonies until 1975. The Portuguese depended so much on slave trade that when France and Holland agreed to abolish it, the former refused until they were paid GBP. 750,000 on the understanding that they would confine trafficking in Africans from the south of the equator, to Portuguese colonies (Everett, 1978:148). Benefits to Portugal from slave trade and from the labour of the colonised can be seen from the fact that since Angola and Mozambique became independent in 1975, the GNP of Portugal has plummeted to be the lowest in Europe. Spain is another country that profitably participated in slave trade following the establishment of colonies in West Indies in 1517. With settlements on the mainland and plantations, Africans were sought more to work on the plantations as slaves. Spain, like Portugal, was reluctant to end slave trade. She had to be paid GBP. 400,000 in 1817 as compensation.

The British appear in history as the champions of the movement to end slave trade, ostensibly on human rights grounds. Exercised from that history, however, is that the motives of the British were to protect the British Indies from competition of slave produced Cuban and Brazilian sugar and the desire to promote oil and cocoa (Everett, *Ibid*, 148). In fact, other European countries considered the British ‘hypocritical’ for insisting on the abolition after earlier enriching

themselves from the trade for taking no stand against slave-grown sugar or cotton.... For allowing English manufactured goods steel to find their way to Africa to pay for slaves, and for trying to establish full command of the sea by trying to negotiate right to visit foreign ships. (Williams cited in Everert, *Ibid*, 151).

The Arabs, their claims of innocence notwithstanding also participated profitably in slave trade. In fact, the Arabs started slave trade before the Europeans. According to the renowned Kenyan historian, Bethwell Ogot, citing Matthew states that “slave trade was a constant factor on the East African coast between AD100 and 1498.” Arabic book *Adjaib Al-Hindi*, written in a later part of the tenth century, stated that 200 slaves were exported from East Africa to Oman, which was involved in trade in East Africa. A Chinese writer reported in 1226 that Africans were being ‘enticed by offers of food and then caught and carried off from Pemba for slaves to the Ta-shi (Arab countries where they fetched high price).

The number of Africans sold into slavery in Arab countries is staggering. According to UNESCO (1979: 169-170; see also 56-80), citing Ibrahim Baba Kake, “an average of 20,000 a year seems a probable figure for the centuries during which Muslim trade was at its height,” while Raymond Mauvy is cited as estimating 100,000 black slaves as taken to the Muslim world in the seventh century, 100,000 in each of the tenth to the thirteenth all through to the nineteenth, and 300,000 in the twentieth century, making altogether a total of 14 million.

The main-stream Arab traders came from Oman, who were the overlord of the Sultan of Zanzibar Island; other Arab slave traders came from Arabia, Sudan, and North Africa. Caravans of slave traders would travel from the East African coast into the interior and organise raids in chosen areas. Each caravan would have two or three Arabs in charge, helped by half-caste hangers-on, armed slaves and porters. Often the raids sparked off inter-tribal warfare. The areas raided were left in flames. Drummond narrates thus:

“It was but yesterday that an explorer crossing from Lake Nyasa to lake Tanganyika saw the whole southern end of Tanganyika people with

large prosperous villages. The next to follow him found not a solitary human being—Nothing but burned houses and bleaching skeletons.

It was but yesterday—the Close of 1887—which the Arabs at the north end of Lake Nyasa, after destroying 14 villages with many of their inhabitants, pursued the populations of one village into a patch of tall dry grass, set on fire, surrounded it, and slew with the bullet and speared those who came out from more merciful flames”. (Everet, 201–202)

Slave trade from Zanzibar was officially abolished by the Hammerton Treaty of 1847. However, the trade lingered until 1980 and Zanzibar was the last country in the world to do so. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1992:874). It is said that there may still be some slaves in some North-West African states and in the Middle East.

Africans, wherever they were enslaved, were treated badly. Accounts from Virginia, USA illustrate the mistreatment. Men, women, and children worked from sunrise to sunset. Mounted sentinels, armed with fire-arms, watched over the toiling slaves until darkness made it impossible for them to work in the fields. Many died from sheer exhaustion, hunger or ill-treatment. The fates of slaves worsened if they tried to escape, as was the case of Richmond. In 1822, some 9,000 slaves led by Denmark Vessey revolted; 139 of them were arrested and 37 hanged. Vessey, their leader was among those hanged. On 1 August 1831, another 100 slaves, including their leader, one Nat Turner, were hanged at Jerusalem in Southampton (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1992:974; Kina, 1968:56). Africans enslaved in Arab countries were not treated any better. According to UNESCO (1979:171) slaves in Morocco during the reign of sultan Mouley Archy in the 18th century, “were put to death for the slightest mistake. The workshops were full of them, in irons and covered in wounds.” The account continues: “But the fate of the eunuch slaves was even worse. At the end of the nineteenth century, there was still a vast establishment at Missoula (Morocco) preparing eunuchs for the Sultan. Eight out of ten of those who were operated or (castrated) died. Between 100 and 2,000 men were turned into eunuchs annually at Abut Tig, a small town in upper Egypt”. (*Ibid*). This explains why there are no African-Arab people in Moslem countries as there are Black African people in America.

THE CASE FOR REPARATION

The case of reparation is a very serious one. No one in Africa or elsewhere can deny that Africans were subjected to the most protracted, systematic, heinous, inhuman and violent forms of treatment and suffering in human history. Nonetheless, there are already bitter critics of the demand for reparation. As noted earlier, some critics say Africans enslaved Africans before the international trafficking began. That argument, very common in the USA is porous and ideological in that it is meant to obscure, complicate and confuse issues.

Africans, whether chiefs or commoners, never engaged in the business of conducting raids against each other for the purpose of capturing, trafficking in, and auctioning others as slaves. The argument confuses and fails to distinguish between the intentional trafficking in slaves discussed above, and cases where men, women or children were captured in local conflicts. As well as, the argument is ignorant of, or deliberately distorts the context. In pre-colonial Africa individuals could be banished from (or voluntarily left) the community (Just as the British sent their criminals to Australia and Portugal sent their rapists and murderers to Angola and Mozambique), instead of facing death for their misdeeds. Children could be sent away—and not *sold* or sent *strange* during calamities such as severe famines to minimize risks. If they stayed and married they expanded kinship relationships, with benefits. The kingdom of Buganda in Uganda illustrates well the point belaboured. Outsiders, including war captives, and social but repentant defiants, were socially and politically mobile to the extent that they could even acquire office on demonstrating or acquiring the skills valued in society, allegiance to clan or community authorities, and above all, by integrating and becoming Baganda. It is partly because of inclusiveness, that Buganda was a formidable military and political force before colonial rule. The inclusiveness, accommodation, and integration of the “other” noted in the specific case of Buganda contrast sharply with cases such as in the US where slave masters had even devised and had a five-point manual for training Africans to be good slaves. Stamp narrates thus what may have been the norm;

First, those who managed the slaves had to maintain strict discipline. One master said, "Unconditional submission is the only footing upon which slavery should be placed." Another said, "The slave must know that his master is to govern absolutely and he is to obey implicitly, that he is never, for a moment, to exercise either his will or judgement in position to a positive order." Second, the masters felt that they had to implant in the bondsman of consciousness of personal inferiority. This sense of inferiority was deliberately extended to the past. The slave owners were convinced that in order to control the Negroes, the slaves had to feel that African ancestry tainted them, that their colour was a badge of degradation. The third step in the training was to awe slaves with a sense of the master's enormous power. It was necessary, various owners said, "to make them stand in fear." The fourth aspect was to attempt to persuade the bondsman to an interest in the master's enterprise and to accept his standards of good conduct. Thus, the master's criteria of what was good and true and beautiful were to be accepted unquestioningly by the slaves. The final step, according to Stamp's documents, was to "impress Negroes with their helplessness to create in them a habit of perfect dependence upon their masters. (King 1968; 39-40)

There is no disagreement that there is no way of knowing how many Africans were enslaved and died in the process over the centuries. Still, scholars should not shy away from making estimates, even for the purposes of making the point that there was once in history, an evil practice whose magnitude we might never know with precision. What Curtin and others who dispute the estimates should do, as scholars, is join the movement of reparation by researching to provide persuasive estimates. They should desist from the temptation to use "reliable" and "empirical evidence" argument as an ideology to forestall the case of reparation. As of now, we see and would regard Curtin's pre-occupation with numbers as an intellectual fallacy and as intended their sympathizers with a view to maintaining a status quo. There are several examples in current times where countries have threatened others because one or two of their citizens were not protected or missing, during war or war-like situations.

The last disagreement with Professor Curtin is the report of his in *The Ottawa Citizen* (31 August 1993), as saying in the context of demand for reparation, that "the attempt to lay guilt on whites for

slavery is an unfortunate kind of racism turned around". We do not see racism in blaming or condemning slave trade(rs), especially given the blatant and sordid brutality meted out against the Africans. More especially, the demand for atonement and reparations must not be seen or interpreted as racially motivated. They are meant to expiate the sins, the evils and the inhumanity the Africans suffered at the hands of the enslavers. Slavery is a crime against humanity; it must not be atoned, but also punished. Curtin's concern about laying "guilt on all whites for slavery" is a resistance against mounting demands for reparation for the crimes committed against the African people. All those countries which were engaged in and benefited from the sale and sweat of slaves must face the cost of justice. To ignore and/or attempt to muzzle the voices articulating the demand for justice is to be a willing accomplice in the crime of slavery. Otherwise, I would counter-argue, to deny the reality of slavery as an unfortunate racism turned around twice, especially given the well documented systematic discrimination against Africans and/or people of African descent.

Numbers aside, suffering under slavery, as we have documented in the preceding sections, is even more problematic to measure. It is like joy. What can not be denied is that the most heinous and inhuman violence and suffering was meant to the African people in slavery. The suffering Africans endured from the time of capture to death on the way to, and when in foreign lands, is undeniable, although impossible to measure. That suffering continues to be lived by Africans and people of African descent through inferiority complex, racial and systematic discrimination. As well, it can not be denied that 500 years or so of slave-raiding and enslaving young adults from Africa deprived Africa of its most able-bodied human resource. Slave trade contributed to eroding, retarding and almost brought to a standstill, the capacity of Africans to develop economically, and in science and technology. Conversely, no one can deny that slave trade, and enslaving Africans (including through lasting institutional structures) contributed immensely to the development of the participating European countries and the USA as much as it crippled the development of Africa.

No sooner was slave trade abolished than it was replaced with colonialization during which Africans were administratively and

structurally subjected to systematic exploitation and denial of human rights. With colonization and re-colonization wanted exploitation of human and natural resources in Africa continues. Precious minerals, among them gold, diamonds, emeralds, and others such as copper, tin, iron, zinc, and uranium have been mined and exported to and for the benefit of Europe and America. Eroding the natural resources and through forced cultivation of commercial crops such as coffee, cotton, cocoa, her countries have continued. It is for these and other forms of suffering and systematic discrimination and exploitation of one race at the hands of another that reparation or compensation is sought, and above all, justified.

While reparation may not heal all the wounds that were inflicted on the African personality, it is nevertheless the first step in a giant leap, and would symbolize genuine effort towards racial reconciliation for amicable interaction in the future, especially given the current globalization, as well as awareness and articulation of identities and common experiences within and across national borders. All former enslavers and colonial powers have, and should, as a minimum, admit and accept moral responsibility, and proceed to pay for the goods and services they got by force and treachery from Africans.

Several questions, some purely logistical, have been raised concerning processing reparation. Who is to pay whom and how much? Fortunately, countries which traded and benefited from slavery are well known and can be identified easily. Countries which participated in the Berlin conference and in the subsequent disbursement and colonization of Africa are also known and can be identified. As to who is to receive reparation that could be individual countries from which Africans were taken and enslaved. Those countries too can be identified. As for colonization, compensation can be paid to the countries which were colonized. They too are well known. In the unlikely scenario of failing to identify and/or agree on the beneficiaries of the reparations, the money could be put into an African trust fund and youth of African descent, and to advance science and technology through an African university, set up specially or designated for that purpose.

SLAVERY TODAY

“The International Labour Organisation estimates that there are 12.3 million slaves in the world.” (Skinner, 2008: 7)

“The Problem of Africa are its leaders”

Mwene Mushanga, 1980

What is most disheartening is that slavery is not merely a historical fact; it still exists in some countries of Africa especially in North and North West countries of Africa and more especially in Mauritania, Niger, Chad, Central Africa Republic, Morocco and Sudan. The Newsweek Magazine of 4 May 1992, reported that slavery was still widespread in two African nations; Mauritania and Sudan. In Mauritania over 100,000 people were reported still to be slaves. The families were made slaves by the sword during the invasion of that country in the 12th century. As time went on, the people accepted their slave status as natural.

For decades the black people of Sudan have been subjected to government orchestrated slave raids. Raids have become a government weapon of war against its own people. Arab militia from the Northern part of the country routinely invade the Southern black population, slaughtering the men and taking the women and children to the North as slaves where they are made to work usually from as early as 4:00am to 8:00pm during which time they are abused, beaten, starved, and women raped. (Skinner, op. cit. pp. 79-85)

The slaves are denied their basic human rights, they are exploited for profit, they cannot express their freewill and are controlled by use of threat or use of violence. Those who are suspected to be resentful or of contemplating escaping are subjected to beating and some are killed in order to frighten others into obedience.

It is reported that over 27 million people are slaves and another large number are working, living and are being treated as slaves. Slavery or what is called human trafficking has become a very profitable international industry from which in the US alone nets

\$9 billion per year. We frequently hear of some African people dying at sea as they attempt to go to Europe, but nobody dares tell us that the majority of these people die on their way to Europe to be sold as slaves and sex slaves.

On one occasion, in 1999, when I was travelling to Rimini, a town in South East Italy when I saw a group of about 50 women the majority of whom looked to be 15 to 30 years old. They were being guarded by four men, two blacks and two whites. I was very curious and sought to know where these women had come from and where they were going. They all looked very tired; they did not speak to each other and looked very sad. On further inquiry, I learnt that they were all from West Africa; nearly all them were illiterate and spoke no Italian, French or English. They had no passports and no travel documents. They had travelled by ship from some West African port mostly at night and were being taken for sale in different Italian cities where they would be sold in groups to night clubs and brothel operators.

When I later brought up this issue to my fellow African ambassadors from North African, I was amazed at what these ambassadors were telling me; that these people freely decide to go to Europe in search of jobs and are not slaves. This confirmed what I have always said that Africa's problems are its leaders. The leaders in these countries are aware of what is happening, but in their wicked wisdom, prefer to remain silent lest they lose their European financial support.

SLAVERY CONTROL

The responsibility of abolishing and controlling slavery falls on the shoulders of leaders in their respective categories, the first and foremost among these are the political leaders including the law-makers.

The first step is the adoption and the implementation of the rule of law which demands the equality of all irrespective of race, age, religion or gender before the law. In this respect, it is the responsibility of the leaders to ensure adequate protection of all. The government must remain vigilant in respect of protecting its citizens against slavery in its various forms.

The second strategy is the education of the public, starting with primary education and to include political education regarding the evil motive of slave trade.

Thirdly, the members of the public need to be thoroughly educated in self-protection especially against being deceived, lured or enticed and to desist against false promises of employment and lucrative jobs offered in overseas countries.

And lastly, the promotion of the respect of human rights, the dignity of human beings, the reverence of life and adherence to democratic principles are all crucial in warding off all attempts at enslavement of human beings.

Slavery, like witchcraft and human sacrifice, all characteristics of backwardness, will persist till the African people become civilized and abandon primitive practices that pervade life in Africa.

From a sociological and economic perspective, colonialism and slavery are two faces of the same coin, the objective of which is the enrichment of the slave masters-cum-colonialists.

Slavery was legally abolished, as noted earlier a century or so ago and was replaced by colonialism. Similarly, colonialism did not disappear with the attainment of independence by the last colony; it was succeeded by neo-colonialism and dependence of the African nations on their former colonial masters. This is what is commonly

referred to as paper flag independence of Third World countries especially those of Africa.

CONCLUSION

No sooner had slave trade been brought under control than the scramble for Africa began, culminating in the Berlin Conference, presided by Prince Bismarck. The entire continent was dismembered. Each European power of the time was allocated or claimed chunks of Africa cake. Imperialism and colonialism ushered in exploitation, now guised as “legitimate” trade and commerce. The more the colonialists exported human and natural resources, the more Africans became poorer. With historical and current exploitation of her natural resources, Africans have been reassured of perpetual poverty and dependence. Poverty and dependence seem to have come to stay the more Africans toil, and the more they seem to receive from former and new masters, the poorer they become.

Independence, whether struggled for or given, does not seem to have a big difference. Exploitation continues unabated. Copper, coffee, cotton, groundnuts, ivory, beef, food crops and even flowers, continue to be exported at the cheapest prices, moreover set by foreign consumers than by the producers. In some countries, Europeans continue to control or own the scarce land resource. In Zimbabwe, a mere 4,000 white farmers occupy 87% of the most fertile land. Efforts to correct the social injustice continue to be thwarted, leading to the frustrated President Robert Mugabe to ask, “How can those countries who have stolen land from the Red Indians, the Aborigine and Eskimos dare to tell us what to do with our land?” (*The Globe and Mail*, in Canada 20 August 1993)

Reparation is not sought to bring about economic development or to reduce dependence but redress wrongs the degradation, vandalism, terrorism and other inhuman treatment Africans have experienced nor is the demand racially motivated. The demand is for indemnity for inhuman acts committed against African people and is made in the belief that the international community will accept the reality of slave trade and later, imperialism and colonialism are crimes against humanity. Like every crime, if the victim remains silent and does not lodge a complaint, there can be no investigation initiated, nor can prosecution and adjudication begin. The African

people, must unite nationally and internationally, and present their case. I am sure the international community will listen. It is only fair to conclude with the words of the late Martin Luther King that “a society that has done something special *against* the Negro for hundreds of years must now do something special for him, in order to equip him to compete on a just and equal basis.”(King, 1968:90)

In a very surprising development, the law-makers in America offered the Federal government’s first apology for the fundamental injustices, cruelty, brutality and inhumanity of slavery and legal segregation of the African-Americans. (*The New Vision*, 3 August, 2008).

In a very surprising development, the law-makers in America offered the Federal government’s first apology for the fundamental injustices, cruelty, brutality and inhumanity of slavery and legal segregation of the African-Americans. (*The New Vision*, 3 August, 2008). The same paper reports an epoch-making decision by the Italian government agreeing to pay \$200 million annually for 25 years to Libya as reparation for colonial exploitation for 30 years.

These developments have kindled our hopes and now eagerly wait to hear similar decisions made by England, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Saudi Arabia, India and China.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, Martin, J (ed.) 1990, *Great Books of Western World*, Syntopicon Vol. 2 Chicago

Ajayi, Ade J.F, 1993 and M.O Vogt(eds). *Proceeding of The First Pan-African Conference on Reparations*, Abuja, Nigeria, 27-29 April.

Alpers, E.A. 1967, *East African Slave Trade*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

Anstey, R.T. "Capitalism and Slavery: A Critique". *Economic History Review*. Vol. xxx, 1968:307-320. The volume and profitability of British slave trade. 1761-1807

Barnes Harry E., *The Story of Punishment: A Record of Man's Inhumanity to Man*. Boston: The Stratford Company 1930.

Beachey, E.W. The *Slave Trade of Eastern Africa. A Collection of Documents*. Rex Collins. 1976

Coupland Sir Reginald, R. *The British Anti-Slavery Movement*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. 1964

Coupland Sir Reginald, R. *East Africa and its Invaders*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1938

Coupland Sir Reginald, R. *Exploration of East Africa 1856-1890: the Slave Trade and the Scramble* 2nd edition. London: Faber. 1968.

Curtin, P.D. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1969.

Davidoff, Henry: *The Pocket Book of Quotations*, Pocket Books, 1952. New York

Davidson, B. *The African Slave Trade*: Atlantic-Little Brown. 1961 "Servitude". *Macropædia*. 15th edition. vol. 27 1985:225-238.

Engerman, S.L. "The Slave Trade and British Capital Formation in the Eighteenth Century," *The Business History Review*. Vol. xlv, No. 4, winter 1974.

Everret, Suzanne, 1978 ***History of Slavery***. London: Bison Books Ltd.

Fage, J.B. 1970 ***Africa Discovers Her Past***. Oxford University Press, ***The Globe and Mail***. 20 August 1993: AL

Halbert, R., 1974, ***Africa since 1875***. University of Michigan Press.

Hochschild, Adam, 2006, "King Leopolds Ghost", Pam Books London.

Hyde, F.E. *et al.* 1953, "The Nature and Profitability of the Liverpool Slave Trade". ***Economic History Review***. Vol. v, No 3,

King Martin Luther, 1968, ***Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?*** Boston: Beacon Press.

Mannix, J.P. with C. Malcom, 1963 ***Black Cargo***. Longman's Green & Co. Ltd

Meltzer, Milton, 1993, Slavery: ***A World History***: Da Capo Press, New York.

Mushanga, T. ***The Uganda we want*** (unpublished article, 1990)

..... Remembering from Generation to Generation (Forthcoming, Fountain Publishers, Kampala).

..... "Underdevelopment in Africa South of the Sahara". Paper presented at the Pan African Congress, Kampala, April 1994.

..... 1994, "Genocide and Suicide in Rwanda: A Response to Centuries of Racial Inequality".

..... "Twenty years of violence in Uganda" in ***Criminology in Africa*** by T. Mushanga (Ed) Rome: UNICRI, 1992:57-81

..... ***Crime and Deviance; An Introduction to Criminology***. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1988, 2008.

..... ***Dictionary of Criminology***, Fountain Publishers, Kampala
The Ottawa Citizen, 31 August 1993.

Pakenhama, T, ***The Scramble for Africa***, Avon Books 1991

Pope-Hennessey, J, *The Sins of the Fathers*. Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1967

Rice, D., *The Rise and fall of Black Slavery*. Macmillan, 1975. Miers, Suzanne and Jgor Kopytoff, 1979, *Slavery in Africa*, University of Wisconsin, USA

Rogers, J.A., *Africa's Gift to America*, Civil War Centennial Edition, 1961

Seaver, G., *David Livingstone: His Life and Letters*. Lutterworth Press, 1957

Skinner, K. Benjamin, 2008, *A Crime so Monstrous*, Mainstream Publishers Co. London

Slade, H.B., 1965, *King Leopord's Congo*. London: Institute of Race Relations

Stowe, H.B. 1965, *Uncle Tom's Cabin New York*: Harper and Row Publishers.

Thomas, R.P. "The Sugar Colonies of the Old Empire: Profit or Loss for Great Britain?" *Economic History Review*. vol. xxi, April, 1968.

UNESCO, 1979, *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, Paris.

Williams, Chancellor, 1987, *The Destruction of African Civilization*, 3rd edition, Third World Press, Chicago: Illinois, USA.

Williams, E. 1994, *Capitalism and Slavery*. New York: Capricorn Books

SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM

Tibamanya Mwene Mushanga

Professor Mushanga was born in 1930 at Kagango in West Ankole area which is now called Shema district. His father Andereya Mushanga was a great advocate of education, especially higher education. He started schooling at Rwabutura, then Kabwohe Primary School and Mbarara High School.

He trained as a medical assistant and worked for ten years at Masaka, Mulago and Mbarara hospitals before going to Makerere where he studied sociology and political science for a B.A degree. He later obtained an M.A and Ph.D. at Makerere. He also studied Criminology at the University of Wisconsin at Madison in U.S.A. He lectured at Makerere and while in exile he lectured at the University of Nairobi.

In 1986, Professor Mushanga was appointed Uganda High Commissioner to Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Canada before he was appointed Ambassador to Italy, Germany, Austria and the Vatican.

Professor Mushanga is the author of several books which include; Criminology in Africa, Crime and Deviance, An Introduction to Criminology, Criminal Homicide in Uganda, Dictionary of Criminology, Dictionary of Runyankole Rukiga, Slavery and Colonialism: two evils for which Africans should demand Reparation, Homicide and its Social Causes, My Life and Work (forth coming).

In 1998, Professor Mushanga opened Itendero Secondary School. Currently Mwene Mushanga is working as Deputy Vice Chancellor of Ankole Western University Project at Kabwohe and as Presidential Advisor (on Foreign Affairs).

Professor Mushanga is married to Maama Muko, they have children and grandchildren.

ISBN 978-9966-031-09-9



lawAfrica